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Alienation and Adaptation: Javanese Immigrants in Malay Society

Koji MIYAZAKI

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to elucidate the social position of Javanese immigrants in Malaysia in relation with their stereotyped image, based on the research conducted in the district of Batu Pahat, Johor in 1991. The paper also aims at reviewing the prevailing image of Javanese culture in its place of origin, i.e. Java, based on the ideas produced by the observation of the Javanese-Malay.[1]

"Javanese immigrants", also referred to as "Javanese-Malay", are meant here as the Malaysian nationals whose ancestors emigrated to Johor in the first decades of the twentieth century. The Javanese-Malay were chosen for research partly for the author's personal interest in the variations of the Javanese people and their culture. Based on his previous researches in Java, the author has attempted to observe how the Javanese have changed and assimilated to the Malaysian environment.

On the other hand the author has also attempted to see the cultural and ethnic variety among the so-called "Malay". The definition of Malaysia as a "multi-ethnic" country is too often based on grouping of its population into three recognized "races"[2], even though there are many other groups besides and within the Malay, Chinese, and Indian. For example there are the Orang Asli, Thai, and Sam Sam.[3] However, listing them in this way is also based on the administrators' or observers' point of view, and does not always reflect their identity.

Identity is, of course, situational. A person has different identities in different occasions. No single identity occupies one's mind and defines one's activities all the time. An identity can be chosen by a person or a group on the one hand, though it may be forced by the rest of a society on the other hand. One identity is not necessarily compatible with another; different identities in a person may be in conflict with each other. The identity of the Javanese-Malay is one of such identities. It is situational and is not necessarily overt all the time.

Within the rural society such as Subdistrict S where the research was conducted the "Javanese" (i.e. Javanese-Malay) identity becomes explicit when the Javanese language is used. Javanese is the means of day-to-day communication among the Javanese-Malay in the village. Once they leave the village or see a stranger, they adopt Malay to communicate. Their Javanese identity is kept covert except when a person they are talking with happens to be a Javanese-Malay.

For the rest of the society, the category of "Javanese" is typically mentioned in connection with so-called "magic".[4] "Javanese" are believed to be able to manage supernatural power in

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[1] The research was conducted as a part of a study of the conceptualization of folk medicine in Malaysia. Another research was carried out in Kedah in 1992. For this, see Miyazaki 1994. Thanks are due to Socio-Economic Research Unit (now Economic Planning Unit), Prime Minister's Department for its official support. The researches were financed by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Program of Scientific Researches, Ref.No. 03041033 and 05041015.

[2] The term "race" is officially used in Malaysian documents related to registration of the citizens.

[3] See Kuroda 1992, Nakazawa 1992 etc.

[4] Here I employ this classic term only for the sake of convenience. By "magic" I mean the whole range of practices concerning the causal-effect relationship which are excluded from so-called "science". Distinction of

the practice of spiritual curing and black magic. Hard-working[5] and magic are mostly identified with the Javanese-Malay. It will be demonstrated through this paper how the Javanese-Malay are associated with magic and what they themselves conceive of it.

2. Javanese-Malay in Historical Perspectives

Although no precise data is available, it is certain that there are a considerable number of Javanese descendants in the Malay Peninsula. Javanese were already found there as early as the sixteenth century. In the accounts on Malacca at that time, the Javanese and their hamlets were already referred to.[Khaziin 1987:21.] They were specialized in the trading of rice and other food and as well as sailing.[Ibid.] Although they were not mentioned in the record again after the decline of Malacca kingdom, they seemed to have settled somewhere in the west coast of the Peninsula. It does not make any sense, however, to group the descendants of these early Javanese immigrants into Javanese-Malay, as they are already Malay and totally assimilated with the Malay society.

The Javanese continuously emigrated to the Peninsula between the last decades of the nineteenth century and the middle of this century.[Khazin 1987:1-4.] The British colonial government, especially through its effort to establish its capital in Selangor, needed labour to clear the woods and construct the infrastructure. Labour was also needed in the west coast of Johor though a bit later. Javanese labourers, along with Buginese and others, were brought in to develop the virgin forest. They were mostly brought in by the agents as contract labourers.[6] After the contract period ended, they remained on the land they had opened.[7]

The factors driving the population from Java to the Peninsula were diverse. The major factor was the poverty caused by dense population, heavy tax, and fragmentation of cultivated land. The immigrants did not only consist of poverty-stricken people, however, but also of people from higher ranks. [Khazin 1987:35-52.] It should be noted that at least some immigrants were motivated by their wish of pilgrimage to Mekka. Khazin's respondents also mention political reason or "shame" as the reasons for immigration. "Shame" is mainly caused by failing to observe the Javanese manners.[8]

As is any statement by an informant who talks with an interviewer in a "fieldwork situation", the explanation which was given to Khazin by the Javanese immigrants in Selangor did not necessarily "reveal the truth". One should think of the possibility that admitting their starving situation in the past might be another "shame", according to the Javanese cultural norm. Yet, if we take their words for granted, we could assume several points. The Javanese community did not allow any members who deviated from the norm. Those who did deviate or broke the rule were forced to leave. Paradoxically, at first sight, the strong sense of

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science from magic is not clear-cut and depends on the folk definitions.

[5] Javanese in Java portray themselves as not hard-working, which is a remnant of the colonial view of "the natives".

[6] There were British agencies based in Singapore, and also the ones owned by Javanese Sheikh Hajis. [Khazin 1987:73.]

[7] At least after 1913 when Malay Reserve Law was enacted, there was no restriction for the Javanese immigrants to access the Malay Reserve which were, and are, not open to non-Malays. In this law Javanese were included in the concept of "Malay". "Malay means a person belonging to any Malayan race who habitually speaks the Malay Language or any Malayan language and professes the Moslem religion." Malay Reserve Law No.15. Quoted by Khazin 1987:63.

[8] "Shame" (*malu*) is caused by an unintentional breach of rules and taboos. Khazin mentions several examples from his respondents' statement: having been arrested because of not wearing a uniform at a ceremony; having lost in the election as a village head; having broken wind at a ceremony, or having been forced to marry. [Khazin 1987:52-3.]

community drives immigration higher by ousting the offenders of the norms.

It should be noted that the wish to conduct a pilgrimage could be the motive for immigration. This suggests that the immigrants did have a rather strong Islamic orientation, because, generally speaking, it had not been common until recently for the Javanese to make a pilgrimage. Yet such generalization, based on the relatively recent Central-Javanese situation, possibly needs to be reviewed by examining the orientation of the Javanese in the past and in other regions.

Whatever the reasons for immigration might have been, the immigrants, once settled in the Peninsula, did not return home where the situation was less favourable. The stream of immigration stopped in 1940, mainly because of the change of British policy and the turmoil in Java. [Khazin 1987:8.] Today the stream of immigrants from Indonesia, not only from Java, is still found, though most of them are illegal workers who come to Malaysia for better wages.

Another image, also a self-image, of the Javanese in the present Java, preferring to starve together rather than leaving their own village, requires revision, too. As Khazin points out, their self-image as the stay-at-homer is quite strong in Java. [Khazin 1987:3.] The simple fact that a number of the Javanese have already emigrated to the Malay Peninsula and everywhere in Indonesia disproves that. Observation of the Javanese-Malay in the Malay Peninsula does not only give a picture of the process of their adaptation but also a cue for reviewing the generalized image of the Javanese people and culture which is mainly based on the present Central Javanese observations. We will return to this matter later.

3. The Research Area

The research was conducted in the subdistrict (*mukim*) S, the district of Batu Pahat. The mukim was officially established in 1937, though some hamlets (*kampung*) had already existed even earlier. The district of Batu Pahat is well known for its dense Javanese-Malay population. The stream of Javanese immigrants was most tangible in the 1920s and 1930s, which was a little later than Selangor where Khazin's historical study was focused. Generally speaking, the coastal areas were first inhabited and then the inland areas were exploited in the Malay Peninsula. This was also the case in Batu Pahat. The coastal areas such as Minyak Beku and Rengit were resided in earlier by the Javanese and Buginese. They both opened up the virgin forest, though there was a certain division of labour among them according to their skills; the Buginese lived in the coastal areas and dealt with sea water as well as planting coconut trees; the Javanese drained the water and planted rubber trees in inland areas.

The history of mukim S, which is located about 20 miles from the sea, deviates from the general pattern of geographical expansion of inhabited areas from the seashore to the inland, ascending the river stream. In the mukim the mining of iron ore preceded agricultural development. The iron mine was opened in the 1930s. The mining did not last long, however. As early as in 1940 the mine was closed down, since it did not produce high-quality ore any longer. The Japanese developer soon moved to the east coast of the Peninsula.

Many Javanese immigrants came as contract labourers of the iron mine. After the mine was closed down, they gradually opened up the virgin forest in the vicinity and planted vegetables for subsistence and then rubber trees for cash.

Most of the present households in Mukim S are engaged in either managing their own plantations or working at other's. The main product is oil palm, though there are still many rubber trees as well. Mukim S consists of sixty-five kampungs among which ten are the major kampungs (*kampung induk*). Each major kampung has its chairperson (*ketua kampung*). The whole mukim is administered by a penghulu who is not a native of Mukim S but an officer appointed by the local government.

A kampung usually has the same name as the drainage passage along which the houses were built. A drainage passage is often named after the person who dug it. Behind the houses are fields. Usually there is only one road along the drainage passage in each kampung. There is no second road parallel to the first one. If there is, it forms another kampung.[9]

The statistics on the population based on the ancestors' place of origin is not available, though the local people conceive the population of Mukim S as "more than 90% Javanese". The Javanese-Malay often call themselves *orang Jawa* in contrast with *orang Melayu*, and also in contrast with the recent migrant labourers from Indonesia who are called *orang Indonesia* including those from Java. The term Indonesia implies something foreign to the Javanese-Malay, for they, or their parents, emigrated from Java before the establishment of Republic of Indonesia.

Most of the Javanese-Malay population in Batu Pahat originated from Ponorogo, East Java. They were recruited by the agents and brought in successively. One might assume that there was a chain of immigrants; however, it seems unlikely that the later arrivals always followed their kin or relatives. As far as the Javanese-Malay in the Mukim S maintain, there were few kinship ties among the first settlers. Although the present population of Javanese-Malay are often related with each other, this is due to endogamy.

In Mukim S there are Banjarese, too, though their number is quite small compared with the Javanese-Malay. A few Chinese shops and firms are found in the mukim.[10]

The Javanese-Malay population in Mukim S converse in Javanese with each other. The first generation who were born in Indonesia is still alive, while most of the Javanese-Malay belong to the second generation, and the third is now growing. There is practically nobody who cannot speak Malay or *Bahasa Melayu*. This is rather striking when one is reminded of the fact that the Javanese in Java, especially the older people, sometimes totally depend on the Javanese language and do not speak any *Bahasa Indonesia*. It should be admitted that after having emigrated from the totally Javanese-speaking environment the Indonesian immigrants adapted themselves quite well with the Malay speaking world. The first and second generations are practically bilingual, speaking both Malay and Javanese, while the third is not very proficient at Javanese any longer.[11]

4. The Knowledge of Magic and Folk Medicine among the Javanese-Malay

As was mentioned above, the Javanese-Malay are often considered to be good at divination and folk medicine by the other Malay people. One of the aims of this paper is to explain why such an image has emerged. Before beginning the discussion of this matter, it is necessary to describe the knowledge and practices of the magic and of folk medicine among the Malay-Javanese. The specialists of divination, magic, and folk medicine among the Malay-Javanese are named a *dukun* or *wong tua* (literally "an old man") as they are called in Java. The word dukun is not regarded so much as negative, whereas in Java calling someone

[9] The names of the kampungs are mostly "Parit so and so". "Parit" means drainage passage.

[10] The present writer stayed in one of the kampungs in Mukim S, and interviewed the local people while observing their daily practices. The main channel of his communication with them was Malay, occasionally complemented by Javanese, as they often speak Javanese mixed with Malay.

[11] The fact that both Malay and Javanese belong to the same language family could help Javanese in learning Malay without much difficulties. It is often stressed that Malay had been used as a means of communication in the colonial Java. In fact Malay functioned as lingua franca in the colonial, and perhaps even in pre-colonial time. Yet one should be reminded of regional differences. The lingua franca might have been spoken in the areas such as the northern coast (called *pasisir*) in the case of Java. It is hardly imaginable, however, that this was also the case in the inland areas, especially in the agricultural communities where Javanese had practically been the only means of communication until school education after the Independence introduced Bahasa Indonesia.

dukun is often an accusation of a sorcerer. In contrast the term wong tua connotes respect for a person of wisdom.[12] There is no official or recognized qualification of these specialists, and, therefore, the distinction between specialists and non-specialists is not clear.

a) Divination

There are many kinds of divination based on the Javanese calendars.[13] They vary from the simple to the sophisticated ones. The most important among others are the cycles of five days and seven days.[14] These two cycles produce the 35 days cycle which is still used in Java when referring to the day: for instance, one's birthday, a day for a village meeting or for activities like such as meditation.[15] The seven day cycle and the five day cycle have their own numbers, respectively. These numbers are added and used for divination and belong to a very popular knowledge in Java.

In Mukim S this method of divination is still known to most of the old men; however, daily life is not based on the 35-day cycle any longer. Even the five-day cycle is almost forgotten. There is no periodic market system to which the five-day cycle was originally related[16], and there is no village assembly as in Java. One's birthday is mentioned only by the date, the month, and the year. In Mukim S the five-day cycle and 35-day cycle belong exclusively to the knowledge of the key to divination which could likely be forgotten within a few decades.

Some of the old men in Mukim S, however, still know much about the divination. According to them there are several methods of finding a good direction to move in or of avoiding an ominous time to do it. They are called "the serpent of year" (*naga taun*) and "the serpent of the day" (*naga dina*). The former changes its position every three months according to the Javanese calendar. One should not proceed or move towards the direction of the serpent, otherwise it will swallow the person who faces it. The serpent is fixed with a nail at its tail and turns clockwise, according to the informant. The latter moves daily, i.e. based on seven days, as *dina* does not merely mean a day but more specifically denotes the seven days.[17]

Another example is matching couples. The sums of the birthdays of a boy and a girl, according to the prescribed numerological values of the days of the seven-day (dina), and five day (*pasaran*) cycles, are reduced one by one while uttering a word each time; *lahir*, *sandang*, *pangan*, *lara* and *mati*. The word at which one finishes counting will give the result.

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[12] In Malaysia in general the term "dukun" does not have such negative connotation as in Java, though the term "*bomoh*" is preferred.

[13] The cycles in use in modern Javanese divination are the five days, seven days, six days, twelve months (Javano-Arabic lunar months), thirty weeks, and eight years. In Old Javanese, i.e. the pre-Islamic, and the Balinese calendars there are more cycles.

[14] The five days (pasaran) are Legi (5), Pahing (9), Pon (7), Wage (4) and Kliwon (8). The seven days (dina) are Ahad (5), Senen (4), Selasa (3), Rabu (7), Kemis (8), Jumuah (6) and Setu (9). The numbers in parenthesis are the numerological values for divination.

[15] The village meetings are named after the days on which they are held: Selasa Kliwonan or Senen Ponan for example

[16] As the name of the five-day cycle, pasaran (<pasar=market), shows, it is related with the market cycle. We can still find the place names such as Pasar Kliwon or Pasar Legi in Javanese towns.

[17] The ominous directions, according to this method (naga dina) are as follows: on Monday (Senen) and Tuesday (Selasa), West; Wednesday (Rabu) and Thursday (Kemis), North; on Friday (Jumaat), East; on Saturday (Setu) and Sunday (Ahad), South. Ominous directions according to the months are as follows (naga taun): in the months Sura, Sapar and Mulud, naga is in northeast; in Rabingulakir, Jumadiawal and Jumadiakir, naga is in southeast; in Rejab, Ruwah and Pasa, naga is in southwest; in Sawal, Sela and Besar, naga is in northwest.

The first three words, which means "birth", "clothes" and "foods" respectively, are good omens, while the last two are the bad ones; they mean "sickness" and "death".[18]

These methods of divination are popular in Java, though there are quite a few variations. The knowledge of the Javanese-Malay in Mukim S is comparable or higher than the one held by the Javanese in Java. In Java, however, the knowledge of divination which has been orally inherited is gradually being replaced by the compendia for divination, called primbon. [Miyazaki 1981.] In the Malay Peninsula such compendia are not known yet, possibly because most of them are written in Javanese.[19]

The Javanese-Malay, when explaining their ways of divination, sometimes boast that the Malay people who do not have such skill often ask their help. This corresponds to the general view of the Malay towards the Javanese-Malay whom the former think better equipped with the knowledge of divination.

b) Folk Medicine

As do most other Malays, the Javanese-Malays in the Mukim S only partly rely on folk medicine. It is chosen as an alternative for treatments in hospitals and clinics. A medicine man is called on or visited when one require treatment for a minor disease or a serious one that hospitalizing has not provided any signs of recovery. These medicine men differ from each other in their skills, degrees of professionalism, and attitudes towards Islam.

In each kampung there are a few villagers who have a limited knowledge of herbs and give them as medicine, upon request, to their relatives and neighbours. They often pick up various leaves, bark, grass and other materials from their yards and use them as medicine mainly for chronic diseases such as asthma, diabetes, and hypertension, or as a plaster for killing pain. They do not receive any significant reward for their medicine. They have generally acquired the knowledge from their fathers or fellows. Their medicine is usually given with a spell (jampi) without which it is thought to be ineffective. Some admit that they use Javanese spells, though those who are more conscious with Islamic teaching insist that the spells should be the Arabic phrases taken from Al-Quran.

Besides these specialists who have their clients in the neighbourhood, there are several experts who are more specialized and professionalized. Some of them claim that they are well-known not only in the district but also in more remote areas. They are thought to be skilled in herbal medicine and/or in exorcism.

One of these medicine men lives in the periphery of the mukim. Born in Muar, a town close to Batu Pahat, he belongs to the second generation of the Javanese-Malay; his father emigrated from East Java in the beginning of the twentieth century. He claims that he learned about herbal medicine in private schools in several places in the Peninsula under both a Javanese specialist and a Chinese specialist. His knowledge in Chinese medicine allows him to compare the Chinese way of herbal medicine with the Javanese way, though he sees no essential difference between them. At least his knowledge in Chinese medicine seems to be used when he merchandises it to a Chinese trader. However, he stresses his tutelage to a

[18] This numerological method of divination is very much Javanese and has not been found in any other place in Southeast Asia.

[19] *Primbon*s are hardly found in Malaysian bookshops, while in Java they are sold everywhere. Exceptionally, in some bookshops in Johor Bahru several primbons can be found. They are collections of Arabic *do'a*, though they are printed in Java. Originally the term primbon refers to private notes which contain memorable dates, acquired knowledge and many other things. The term has been exclusively used after the pre-Islamic period in which the term wariga was in use for these private notes. Today, however, the contents of the printed primbons are largely confined to the knowledge of divination, spells, and the fragments from mystic texts.

certain pious Moslem and his mastery of the Javanese herbal medicine.

He moved to Mukim S so that he could harvest good herbs. He regards the Javanese plants and ways of making medicine as authentic and has visited Indonesia several times to obtain ingredients as well as the books that help him find plants for medicine.

Javanese herbal medicine (jamu) becomes model, when a Javanese-Malay wants to develop herbal medicine, as is seen in this case. However, like many other Javanese-Malay specialists in medicine, this man also stresses the use of Quranic spells to accompany it, which often separates them from their Javanese counterparts. On the other hand, this same specialist laments the loss of the "vital force" (*semangat*) compared with their colleagues in Java. According to his view, in Indonesia where there are *walis* and many other miscellaneous beliefs, people "still possess semangat" which is very important in practicing medicine.

Besides individual herbal medicine men, there is a manufactured "folk" medicine. In the vicinity of Mukim S there is a factory of Javanese *jamu*, run by a Javanese-Malay family who allege their origin from one of the Javanese royal families. The founder, who migrated from Java, studied the making of jamu from a Javanese as well as a Chinese in Java. They import jamu ingredients from Indonesia where they are cheaper and of better quality than in Malaysia. The factory is a totally secularized industry without any religious colour, though they still share the knowledge of the Javanese jamu with the medicine men.

5. Javanese-Malay and Their Supernatural Power

Why are the Javanese-Malay believed to be good at healing and divining in Malaysia? So far as we have seen above, their herbal medicine does not seem to be strikingly different from the Malay one. The Javanese-Malay medicine men believe in the authenticity of the Javanese knowledge and materials in this field. Yet herbal medicine is not the patent of the Javanese(-Malay); the Malays, too, have a long tradition and detailed system of folk medicine.[20]

Possibly, however, the tradition behind Javanese jamu which is rather widely distributed in Malaysia, might be what is reminded to a Malay when he thinks of Javanese folk medicine. In fact, the Javanese-Malay in Mukim S, at least, have a continuum of skill and professionalism in herbal medicine, evolving from amateur to industry, within a relatively small area.

What looks most exotic to the non-Javanese might be the Javanese calendar system. Divination itself, based on simpler calendar did exist in Malay society, too, and the examples of the Malay way of divination are abundant in the written materials [Skeat 1900], though few Malay have that knowledge today.

Nevertheless, it is unlikely that the Javanese-Malay knowledge of the calendar and folk medicine play a crucial role in associating them with supernatural power. These factors play, at best, minor roles and the major reason should be sought from a different angle.

Belief in supernatural power is, of course, a universally observed phenomenon. Yet one might agree that belief in magic and supernatural power is more popular and stronger in Java than in Malaysia. It is true that the Javanese culture which the Javanese-Malay brought from Java allows more room for magical practices than the Malay culture in which Islamic orthodoxy is much more stressed and, as it is a heresy, strictly condemned. As has been often

[20] See for this Itagaki 1995 which offers a detailed report on the theory and materials of the Malay folk medicine in Kedah. There are a number of written sources for the Malay folk medicine and belief; see, for example, Warisan Perubatan Tradisional, Gimlette, Skeat etc.

mentioned, Javanese religion is much more syncretic and there is no definite line which separates religion from magic.[21]

However, the most important reason for associating the Javanese-Malay with supernatural power lies in their marginal, and often lower, position in the Malay society. In Malay society, some, though not all, groups of Orang Asli are believed to possess very strong magic and are even feared by Malay people.[22] They are conceived of as much closer to nature and therefore stronger in the supernatural power which Malay people thought lost in the process of "civilization".

A similar belief is found towards the Thai people in the whole Peninsula, especially in the northern states where the existence of Thai people is more tangible than in other states. Here, Thai *bomoh*s are thought to be better in spiritual healing than their Malay counterparts. They often attract clients who could not recover their unease after they had visited Malay bomohs.

Orang Asli and Thai mostly make up the marginal groups which often form the basic strata, and at the same time, the periphery of Malay society. The belief that the Javanese-Malay possess more powerful magic should be considered in the light of this general attitude towards marginal social groups, and foreign people not dominant in a society. These groups are often viewed with either contempt or fear, or both. Contempt is the flip side of the coin of fear and fear is represented as an unknown power.

Their marginality is strengthened by the fact that they are less Islamic than the Malay people. These marginal groups in which Javanese-Malay is included, are marginal both socio-economically and religiously. A lower status, an external origin, and a different belief all play a part in the role of mystification. It should not be overlooked that a resurgence of Islam among the Malays in a sense vests the marginal groups with "supernatural" power. Compared with the end of the nineteenth century when Skeat collected information for his "Malay Magic", moslem orthodoxy has gained much more influence in the Malay life. Modern bomohs are generally sensitive with the matter of orthodoxy and heresy, though the standard of distinction often varies from one bomoh to another. The orthodoxy attempts to expel the heretical elements such as seances or non-Quranic spells commonly contained in magic. As a consequence these elements are quested in extra-Islam spheres, because the magical practice dies hard, or never dies out. The orthodoxy has certainly succeeded in purifying moslems and banishing magic from Islam. On the other hand, however, it gives rise to the non-Islamic, or non-Malay magic.

Being mutually "others" does not necessarily imply that one group imposes the negative part of their own to the other and/or vice versa. A self-other relation is not always reciprocal. The Malay population imposes their heretical elements to the Javanese and other minor groups, while the Javanese-Malay do not. The latter, generally speaking, admit their involvement in magic and define the Malay as more legitimate moslems. This non-reciprocal, and therefore unantagonistic but mutually niched relationship is due to the framework with which they share. In the present Malaysian system Javanese-Malays are categorized in "Melayu" and are simultaneously moslem by definition. In these frameworks the Javanese-Malay place themselves in a minor position and the Malay in a major position, while the Malay likewise admit their major position and put the other groups in a lower position.

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[21] Javanese immigrants in the Peninsula were already believed to be able to manage supernatural power better than Malay in the beginning of this century. See for this Khazin 1987. Yet the Malay preoccupation was surely related with the point which will be discussed presently.

[22] See for example Skeat 1900, Taib Osman 1989, etc.

This mutual recognition gives the major group "endocentricity", i.e. the consciousness that they occupy the center of the cosmos, while it gives the minor group "exocentricity", the consciousness that the center of the cosmos exists somewhere outside of their own community.

The definition of endocentric-exocentric is relative, of course, because there is an unlimited number of domains in which the center-periphery is defined. The Javanese-Malay hold endocentricity in the domain of magic and folk medicine, when this domain is justified. It is certain that some domains are more legitimated than the other. In the context of Malay society, as well as Indonesian, the official and dominant ideologies are to be a "modern scientific way of thinking" and of "Islam". A domain such as magic has little legitimacy while folk medicine seems to be gradually legitimated by "modern scientific way of thinking".

6. Javaneseness in Transition

What do Javanese-Malay think of the image given to them? On one hand, they boast about their knowledge and skill in herbal medicine and charms they brought from Java. On the other hand, they are also conscious with the orthodoxy and heresy in relation with Islam, while being accustomed with the Malay context. Possibly they are much more orientated to Islam than the Javanese in their places of origin. Little by little the Javanese spells seem to have been replaced by Islamic spells (*do'a*). This re-Islamization is probably parallel to the process which has been in progress among, at least some part of, the Malay population in general.

It is misleading to see the re-Islamization among the Javanese-Malay as a purely religious awakening. As the social contacts with the outside of their own communities expand, the Javanese-Malay prefer "Malayness" to "Javaneseness", partly for avoiding discrimination but also for living more positively as Malay. It is, of course, a "sensitive" issue to stress "Javaneseness" among the Malay, for the unity of Malay people is politically paramount. Consequently, Javanese elements become more and more latent or even forgotten. The language is a typical example of this.

Yet belief is not so straightforward as language. Trying to be a pious moslem does not always smooth the ways of discarding their old, heretical custom. Becoming a pious moslem means, for a Javanese-Malay, a loss of contact with supernatural power. Even after they succeed in discarding the heretical customs, their psychological lacuna is not filled.

Such a sense of loss urges some of them to invite native Javanese specialists (dukun) from Java to give a solution for their physical and spiritual problems. "Javanese" dukuns in Java are thought to be much more effective than their own dukuns. Visiting Indonesia for collecting herbs for medicine or going there for learning the knowledge of jamu have the same implication. The Javanese-Malay expect Javanese people (from Java) to possess what they were, or still are, considered to have. By being absorbed into the major group of society, they lose their supernatural access linked with a peripheral, marginal status and, in turn, need to seek out marginal people. For them, the Javanese from Java are already foreign enough.

The anecdotes told by Javanese-Malay people who have traveled to Indonesia confirm this. They often tell them to their fellows who have never been there. Their tell that they were always perplexed and in dismay in their ancestors' land. Having been accustomed to the Malay way and situation of life, they find Indonesia poorer, over-populated and uncertain; it is exotic and beyond their imagination. For them, Indonesia is another world, and is no longer theirs. .

Another points worth mentioning is the Javanese-Malay performing arts in Johor. As was mentioned above, Javanese language is still in use in the Javanese-Malay society. Besides

the language, they keep up a part of the Javanese cultural heritage. The Javanese-Malay in Johor has made a great effort to maintain the music and the dance which they brought from Java. Several groups of the horse dance (*kuda kepang*)[23] are active in the district of Batu Pahat. Another Javanese dance, Barong dance (*barongan*)[24] is often performed in local festivals, too.[25] Notably, kuda kepang played by the Javanese-Malay girls is now included in the "traditional arts" in the state of Johor, despite its Javanese origin. The dance groups are often invited to various occasions for showing the dance as the representative of the whole of Johor.

This means that the Javanese-Malay are becoming Malay not only by discarding their heritage, but also by incorporating their cultural elements into the Malay tradition which is being created and revised all the time.[26]

7. Conclusion

From the rather rapid glance at the Javanese-Malays and their circumstances in the above, some conclusive remarks will be drawn. First of all, the magical ability and knowledge is due to their social and religious position in the Malay society, and not to their specialty. Secondly, as the Javanese-Malay adapt themselves to the Malay society, their alleged specialty in magic inevitably dissolves. Thirdly, they now have to find a new marginal group which they will be able to stigmatize, and the group they found is the Javanese from Java who appear as foreigners rather than their fellows.

[23] Kuda kepang is danced by dancers with bamboo "horses" on which the dancers mount. It is widely seen in Central and East Java, though it is sometimes called *jatilan* in Central Java, while in East Java it is called reog. In Java it is danced by male dancers, whereas young girls are usually dancers in Johor.

[24] Barongan is a collective dance which entails trance. Monotonous beats of percussions gradually drive tens of dancers into trance and they jump with unusual cries, eat a living chicken, or faint. They recover their consciousness after "treatments" of a band leader. While at least the present kuda kepang dance is with refined movements and is aimed for theatrical performance, barongan is rather vulgar and not a theatrical piece.

[25] In contrast to the dances, the typical Javanese theatres such as *wayang kulit* are not performed. It is assumed that these theatres were not maintained because of their extensive use of Javanese language. The Javanese-Malay in Johor live in an enclave around which no Javanese is used and have little access to the mass media which broadcast Javanese programmes. The fact that few Javanese-Malay have a good command of the honorific styles which characterize the theatrical performances might be another reason.

[26] It is probable that some of the Javanese immigrants to the Malay Peninsula already had stronger orientation to Islam when they were in Java. Some immigrants relate their reason of immigration with their wish to accomplish pilgrimage to Mecca. [Khazin 1988:46.] Islamic orientation might be related with their place of origin; in Batu Pahat most immigrants originate from East Java. Although Khazin's study does not show any predominance of East Javanese origin of the immigrants, few are reported from the areas in the vicinity of the royal capitals, called *negaragung*. As a matter of course, the royal influence is much stronger as in negaragung. The typical image of Javanese tradition is strongly influenced by the royal customs in which Islam is less influential than in the coastal areas, for example. In East Java the royal influence is less tangible than in the inland Central Java.

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